## WASHINGTON, D. C. tion of the public press. I have been so long

coustomed to it that I have ceased to regard it, and the public mind shall not be kept in

state of ignorance as to what has occasioned that civil war, so far as I can enlighten it. And without caring to express any opinion as to the merits of the case, I will simply state that it

which establishes a system of tyranny, oppresion, and despotism, that I have not known to

be paralleled in ancient or modern history.
For example, no man is permitted to practice

take the same test oaths. 4. No person is ca-

pable of voting for or against a Convention to form a Constitution who does not also take the same test oaths. 5. If any person shall speak,

write, assert, or maintain, that Slavery does not

egally exist in the Territory, and that the peo-

ple have no right to hold slaves, or shall intro-duce into the Territory, or print, publish, write, or circulate, or caused to be introduced, written,

printed, published, or circulated, in the Terri-

circular, containing any denial of the right of persons to hold slaves in the Territory, he shall

be deemed guilty of felony, and punished by imprisonment at hard labor for a term of not

less than two years; and, finally, no person who is conscientiously opposed to holding slaves, or who does not admit the right to hold slaves

in the Territory, shall be qualified to sit as a juror in the trial of any prosecution for any violation of the provisions of these laws.

Upon this I have but two remarks to make

The first is, that if the North propose to exclude the South from taking their slaves into the Ter-

ritory with them, the account is pretty well bal

anced by the South refusing to the persons of the North to take their opinions and freedom of thought and speech into the Territory with

them. The next is—suppose the authorities of this State were to pass any law obnoxious to a

large portion, or a majority of the people-such

for example, as a Temperance law, or any other, I care not what—and should then declare that

no man should have the privilege of voting, or holding office, who would not first swear to sus-tain and support that law; and if any man

to imprisonment at hard labor for not less than

two years, and that he should have neither law

not also first take an oath to support and sus

tain the very law that the offending party had opposed. I ask, what would you do? Would

pulling his nose, slapping his face, or sending him a challenge, I should never have found it ne-

the friends of Mr. Brooks, that he is a high-

minded and gallant man in his general deport

ment, but has, in a moment of impetuosity and

out when I get beyond the limits of Virginia,

equally sympathize with all; and of one thing

be assured, that no nullifying, seceding Democrat, and no Democrat of any other description, can be allowed to make an issue for me, that is

to widen the breach between the North and the

Nor will I permit the personal quarrels

anybody to raise a sectional issue for me. If my own brother had acted as Mr. Brooks did.

(in the discharge of a solemn public duty, whatever might have been my personal feelings,) I should have voted for his expulsion, and, as I said before, I choose to say so here, because I said so in the North, before Northern and

Southern delegates in the National Council of

the American party, while opposing the passage of a resolution offered by a committee demanding his expulsion. [Loud and long continued applause.] I will indulge in no speculations as to who is to be elected, but,

udging from the past, I should think this State

would be most likely to vote for the man that

responsibility to those who choose to cast their

solving the Union : one is by revolution and

force, which the strong arm of the General

and the other is, by a Convention of the States

good sound sense enough among the con-

the field, in the factories, and in every pursuit

of life, not heeding nor caring for the gry of "wolf! wolf!" with which their ears have be-

come familiarized, but who will, when occasion

yer to defend nor person to try him, who would

tory, any book, paper, magazine, pamphlet,

POLITICAL WORLD MR. BOTTS, OF VIRGINIA, ON FREMONT

appears by the report of the committee appointed by Congress (which is so voluminous that it will never fall into the hands of nor be seen by From a full report, in the New York Herald of September 14th, of a speech delivered in will never fall into the hands of nor be seen by
the people) to take testimony in Kansaa, that
the Legislature of that Territory was elected by
several thousand Missourians, who went over
with their wagons, tents, provisions, and arms,
and took possession of the polls at the point of
the howie-knife and mouth of the revolver;
and that that Legislature passed a set of laws—
a full copy of which I have in my possession—
which establishes a system of typanny courses. August, by Mr. Botts, to a great Whig meeting in Richmond, Virginia, we make the following extract, which will be read with deep

How is it in regard to Fremont? He is an natried and unknown adventurer in the political cal field. If he has the first qualification of statesman, it is not known, or pretended, by his warmest supporters. We have had many experiments in the manufacture of Presidents, of late years, none of which have succeeded well. We have had men selected for an office not only requiring the highest order of ability For example, no man is permitted to practice law who does not first swear to support and sustain the Kansas-Nebraska act and the Fugitive Slave Law. 2. All persons are permitted to vote, and every vote presumed to be good, unless challenged; but if challenged, he shall swear to support and sustain the same laws. (This was intended to let in the Missouri voters without challenging.) 3. No one is capable of holding any office in the Territory who does not take the same test outbar. and the largest amount of experience, of known established character and principles—men of firmness and decision of character, who could rely upon their own knowledge and judgment of men and things, taken sometimes from the came and sometimes from a county court bar. We have had men put up for this high office for no better reason than that "nobody couldn't say nothing again 'em, no how, because they won't to be found upon record, nowhar," and all suc experiments have proved miserable abortions and failures, that have only served to plunge the country into trouble and difficulty. But of all the experiments yet made in this line, I regard that of nominating Fremont as the wild est and most insane yet attempted; and to add another insuperable objection to his election, it will be purely and simply of a sectional character, yet not more so than Buckman's: first, because I think it quite likely Fremont will get as many Southern electoral votes as Buchanar will get in the North—but, chiefly, because Buchanan is the representative of a party that chooses to carry on the battle exclusively on a Southern sectional issue, whilst Fremont is the representative of a party that takes the opposite side of that sectional issue. They are, therefore, both sectional, and one as much so as the other. And it does appear to me to be impossible to sectionalize the South, as the Democrate propose, without at the same time. ocrats propose, without at the same time and in the same way sectionalizing the North also. We propose to avoid both, and steer between them, as we would between Scylla and Charybdis, and rally upon the man who repre sents the national party on great national i sues. [Tremendous cheering.] The man has not yet drawn his breath, who, if placed in the Presidential chair, would dare to interfer with the institution of Slavery as it exists in the Scates; they all oppose its extension, but none are for disturbing it where it exists. It was but the other day, that in the Senate of the United States, John P. Hale, one of the King should dare to question the propriety of that law, or the right to pass it, he should be subject

"The doctrine which has been proclaime by the men about whom I know anything, en gaged in the Anti-Slavery enterprise of the North, has always been that they disclaimed and denied, utterly, the purpose, the desire, or the power, to interfere with Slavery in any State where it exists. The most ultra of them

you submit or resist? I leave that question to be decided by my friends Stearns & Brummel, extensive whisky manufacturers, sitting im in the first national meeting they ever held as a Convention, utterly disclaimed it." mediately before him) - [excessive laughter and cheers. | For myself, as I am determined not to No, sir; the only danger to which Slavery get ahead of public opinion again, if I can help exposed is from making its escape into the free States; and that is to be avoided only by exit, I forbear to say what, under such circum-stances, I would do, but leave it to those who cessive vigilance on the part of the owners, and know me to guess. But these are the laws by the punishment of those who entice them that, on motion of Mr. Geyer, of Missouri, were off, when apprehended. This property must be repealed in the Senate, by a vote of forty to three. They then kicked the plank of Squatter Sovereignty from the Cincinnati Platform, after guarded in that respect as best you can-as you guard your other property from a Northern bus glar or incendiary—neither the General Govhaving first made Mr. Buchanan square himself Nor will abusive and intemperate language, or threats of separation from the North, prove a remedy for the evil. A burglar from the North choose now, in the presence of a Southern audihis jewelry and plate. You do not charge nation of the attack made upon the Senator upon the entire Northern population, and hold from Massachusetts. If Mr. Brooks had thought them responsible for the larceny, and threaten proper to resent the language of Mr. Sumner l to dissolve the Union because his property i not found and restored; all you can demand is, that when the rogue is detected, you shall cessary to express any opinion upon the subject, whatever opinion I might have entertained; have the property returned and the guilty party punished. Another, who came with the burglar but I approve neither of the time, place, manner, nor circumstance, attending the assault. I have no doubt at all, from what I have heard from entices my slave to accompany him to the North, and immediately a hue and cry is raised against the entire Northern population, and nothing but. threats of disunion greet our ears until the case s worn threadbare and forgotten. I have seen two cases of kiddnapping, or stealing negroes, reported as being brought to the notice of our courts, within the last week—one from North Cargrows older and more reflective, and that the compliments he has received from his warmolina, and the other from the District of Columia. Why not hold all the people of the State f North Carolina and of the District of Columia in like manner responsible for the guilt of upon him at the North, have served to bewilde the offenders, and separate yourselves from them also? There are good and bad men in all communities; but I have no idea of holding the good men responsible for the misdeeds of the wicked. There are good men in the North, and the proportion is just as large as it is in the South; and I will not justify this indiscriminate, wholesale slander of the North, nor give countenance to the demoniac cry of party, to dissolve the Union, whenever we hear of a runaway slave making his escape to the North. Murders, kidnapping, robberies, arsons, and running off of slaves, will occur as long as men exist and slaves are within their reach, and no laws, human or divine, will prevent them. They must be punished according to law when the guilty parties are detected; and that, with propr caution and vigilance, is your only remedy cases for one now under the Constitution. But it is said the election of Fremont will be just ground for a dissolution of the Union; and it has been charged that Mr. Fillmore has said in one of his speeches, that "his election would not and ought not to be submitted to by the I must do Mr. Fillmore the justice to say that I do not understand him to have said any such thing; and I must do myself the justice to say, that if he had uttered a sentiment so repugnant to the Constitution and the Union, and to every principle of conservatism, and sub mission to the popular will, when constitutionally and lawfully expressed, that I would not now occupy this stand in support of his elec-tion. [Cheers.] What I understand Mr. Fillmore as having said, was this: "That if the principle was carried out by Mr. Fremont or the Republican party, of excluding every Southern man from having any participation in gov-ernment, if the same rule was to be observed in the appointment of his Cabinet council, forters, judges, and administrative offi-

Now, I do not mean to say that Mr. Fremont, if elected, will do nothing to cause or justify a dissolution of the Union; but what I do -y is. that his election by the years and leave the responsibility to these who shows the cause of the entire country, and leave the responsibility to these who shows the cause of the caus that his election by the yearnishes had constitutionally and he is in who contem-tent such thing; and I will say more—I Mil say it furnishes no just ground of complaint to the Democracy, as they first made the issue by the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, and have ever since pressed the issue by their atchange from Democracy.

With regard to the frequent threats of dis-union, let me say, the Union is in no danger of a dissolution. There are but two ways of distempts to keep every other question than that of Slavery out of the canvass, and by their constant and daily efforts to sectionalize the entire South on this sectional issue; and if they start Government will always be able to put down; the game, and are beaten at it, what right have they to complain? We may complain, and the other is, by a Convention of the States that adopted the Constitution, and framed the their lips will be sealed. They should have known their strength better before they challenged and defied their adversaries to the complete the complete the constitution, and framed the Government of their choice. Newspaper editors and cross-road politicians have no power to dissolve, and there is now, and always will be, good sound sense enough among the conbat, at which they will, in all likelihood, be servative elements of the country, now engaged badly whipped; and they will richly deserve it, in their daily avocations in the workshop, in Missouri Compromise: let me assure you Democracy of the South (and they have the control of the South) will not have the effrontery to ask it, and if they did, the North will not have the weakness to grant it. They know too well what they have gained by its repeal. Still, you must expect, if you put so formidable a weapon in their hands on the eve of a Presidential election, that they will use it to the best dential election, that they will use it to the best advantage, and make all the capital out of it they can. They do desire to rebuke the spirit that disturbed that Compromise; and so do I, and hope it will be done by the election of Mr. Fillmore, who was also opposed to it; but they will restore that line never. In regard to the affairs of Kansas, I must say that a state of things exists there that is disgraceful to this Administration, and disgraceful to us as a civil.

cers, that the South ought not to submit."
[Great cheering.]

lature of Kansas pass laws, admitting and protecting Slavery, and, therefore, obnoxious to Abolitionism. And what is the course of Mr. Douglas and other Democratic leaders in Congress? Six years ago, when, under the same rinciple of "popular sovereignty," Abolitionism California excluded the South from that man icent domain, and she protested against the leaders of the Democratic party sustained the principle, and sanctioned our seclusion. What, we repeat, is their course, when the people of Kansas, acting under the same doc-trine, pass laws protecting Slavery? Mr. Douglas comes forward with his "Pacification bill"—a bill which, in the teeth of "popular sov-ereignty," in the teeth of the Nebraska bill itself, repealed whole statutes of the Territorial egislature. And this measure, so flagrant in its iolation of the just-uttered pledges of the Demcratic party-this measure, reviving "Congres sional intervention," and repealing the laws of a Pro-Slavery Territorial Legislature, actually passes the United States Senate by the vote of the Democratic party and of Southern Sena-

There is a still lower deep, with an effronter eyond conception. Mr. Douglas, in his late speech, even vaunts that the Democratic Sena-tors were willing to repeal the obnoxious laws, while the Free-Soilers resisted it for political effect. Mr. Hunter, of Virginia, adopts the sam-view. And Mr. Orr, of South Carolina, "out Herods" all, by invoking Executive intervention, to strangle "judge and jury," for the escape of Abolition malefactors in Kansas!

Can betrayal of principle go further? What this doctrine of popular sovereignty, that to day repudiates Congressional intervention, and to-morrow invites it—that makes the courts of the United States the sole arbi er, yet calls upon an abolitionized Congress and the President to trample upon them? Popular sovereignty for California, and popular sovereignty for California, and popular sovereignty for Kansas, are very different things. It is to be lauded and upheld when it excludes Slavery, but to be repudiated when it admits Slavery. Congressional intervention, on the other hand, is to be repudiated when invoked to protect Slavery in California, but to be fostered when invoked to crush it in Kansas! The Compromise of 1850 is to be kept when it defrauds the South, but to be violated when it benefits her. Such is the same are denied all that I think right, and to oppose him there in all that I think wrong, untrammelled by party ties. My object will be to be true to the country and its interests, knowing no other polestance.

I am too much out of health to become the active partisan of any candidate for the President to be such. But the truth is, I have long since resolved to be the partisan of no man, to follow the conscient tious convictions of my own judgment alone, and, no matter which of the candidates may be successful, to support him in the Senate in all that I think right, and to oppose him there in all that I think wrong, untrammelled by party ties. My object will be to be true to the country and its interests, knowing no other polestance. day repudiates Congressional intervention, and to-morrow invites it—that makes the courts of violated when it benefits her. Such is the last warning specimen of National Democrat

And it is expected of the people of this State that they will shout hosannas at the heels of a party which stands ready so to insult and trample on them? Shall we cringe and fawn about a on them? Shall we cringe and fawn about a party which, by its recents acts, assures us in what contemptible esteem it holds its own principles and our rights? Shall we, despite the experience of California and those demonstrations, still praise the glorious doctrine of "squatter sovereignty," and look to the Democratic party to enforce it faithfully? One thing is certain. tain. The Democratic party in Washington are ready to abandon it. Northern Democrats quail before the pressure of an overwhelming sentiment at home-while Southern Democrats, as before, are found ready to sacrifice principle sacrifice the South—that Abolition may be appeased, and a spoils-dispensing party be led to

## A GLEAM OF COMMON SENSE FROM THE SOUTH.

Dissolution of the Union to be Postponed

From the Baltimore Patriot, Sept. 10. When a journal like the Richmond Enquir assumes to itself the right to speak authorita-tively for the whole South, it becomes the duty such Southern members of the Confederacy having first made Mr. Buchanan square himself as repudiate all ideas of disunion to declare to it. I have one word to say in regard to the their fealty to the articles of confederation in Brooks affair, and it is only because I have re- language which cannot be mistaken. So far as preferences, and will indicate them by her vote; but if the statesman whom she regards most worthy of being chosen Chief-Magistrate should unfortunately be supplanted by a more popular candidate, she will imitate the example of that fine old English Admiral, Blake, who had no love for the protectorate of Cromwell yet felt it to be his duty to serve his country o matter who held the reins of Government.

Maryland will stand firmly by the Union Not that her citizens are insensible to the perils by which it is encompassed, but because, as a member of the Confederacy, whatever power she excitement, been led to commit an act which possesses may still be exerted to promote the ends of good government, and re-establish peace his own better judgment will condemn as he and fraternal concord; and because, when once the South separates from the North, hearted, enthusiastic, but injudicious friends, in the South, and the taunts and abuse heaped the process of disintegration between the sevtinue until each State, for some real or imagin and mislead his judgment in much that has transpired since, as it was well calculated to do. ary offence, sets up a Republic of its own, with its petty fortalices, its insignificant navy, its corporal's guard of an army, and with all those But let me say here, once for all, that he knows ittle of me who supposes that I could be induced gnawing jealousies which are the consequen of rivalry among petty sovereignties.

to make a sectional matter of a private quarrel between any Northern and Southern gentlemen. Moreover, separation involves the abandon-ment of nationality—a rending asunder of that Geographically or politically, I know no differ-ence between Mr. Brooks and Mr. Sumner. I glorious flag which now commands respect on have no more political sympathy for a Southern every sea, and is a signal of protection to a commerce which girdles the world with wealthy nullifier and secessionist, than I have for a Northern Abolitionist. I am a citizen of Virargosies. What nation which now stands in ginia, holding attachments to my native land; awe of the United States would care to do homage to any of the petty Republics of a once know no difference between the citizens of the different States; I am equally interested in and glorious Confederacy?

It is not folly, but sheer midsummer madness, to talk of separating from a Confederacy, which in union is all powerful, to become as distinct Governments the scorn and contempt of the whole civilized world. Mark further what folows. The Government of the United States. luring the pressure of the Mexican war, renuired a loan. It was taken at once, and at a high premium. Recently, the State of Virginia, by merely threatening disunion, found her bonds apable of carrying out her threat, they would

ot command purchasers at any price.

But is the Enquirer, while hurling its denunintions against all who differ from it in opinion, quite certain that it speaks the sentiment of Virginia? There is a hardy transmontane population within the ligits of that State, which, notwithstanding the fierce pugnacity displayed by our contemporary, can haver be roused to join its rebellious cry. Still ess could it be brought to carry out, in practice, the treason which the Enquirer preaches. If any secession at all takes place, it will be the secession of Western Virginia from the seaboard counsies. hat not from the Union.

is most certain to impose a cheat upon her, as she has always repudiated her own children— Clay, Harrison, Taylor, and Scott—for such men as Van Buren, Polk, Cass, and Pierce; and she Carolina fire-enters have pointed out, in man has never failed to be cheated yet; but no stated, the ter who is to be elected, or who a saled, the path of duty is plain before, and I shall pursue it. I shall pursue it. I shall pursue it. I shall pursue it is shall pursue it. I shall pur loquent sentences, the admirable capabilities of the South for carrying on a defensive war.
They have shown how batteries, placed in this
pass, and rifles bristling on that hillside, could work destruction on an advancing foe. Col. Brooks has, moreover, advised, in the event of fremont's election, that a gallant army of Southerners, equipped with bowie-knife and revolver, shall march in grim procession to Washington, and seize upon the Government votes for either of the other candidates. One archives and treasury.

Our impulsive neighbor of the Enquirer straightway blows a bugle blast, and raises the war-cry of the old Covenanters, "To your tents, O Israel." But neither the defensive capacity of the Southern States, nor the tempting suggestion of Col. Brooks, nor "the windy irations of forced breath " of the Richmond quirer, can stimulate a patriotic people Enquirer, can stimulate a patriotic people, proud of their national renown, glorying in their national prosperity, reverencing their nation's destiny, and sensible of the power which that nationality insures, to sally forth on so Quixotic an expedition, or even attempt to crush out the memory of the past and the hope of the future, by an act which would entail upon their posterity a more hitter desting the upon their posterity a more bitter destiny than that which befel the children of Adam under the weight of the primeval curse.

calls for it, rise up in their mighty strength, and trample under foot these noisy, mischievous malcontents, who make "night hideous" with their yells of disunion; and let me tell them, that when they attempt it for no better cause than it has yet been threatened, I, for one, will It is confidently asserted by the Democracy that their great strength lies at the South, and accordingly they claim for Mr. Buchanan every Southern State. We do not care to wake them just yet from so pleasant yet delusive a dream, though we can assure them it was not an "angel's whisper" which made their slumbers joyous with such tidings. Still, conceding—for the sake of the argument—that the South meet them at "Philippi," and on that field they will find me kneeling at no other altar than the altar of the Union, worshipping at no other shrine than the shrine of the Constitution, and that disturbed that Compromise; and so do I, and hope it will be done by the election of Mr. Fillmore, who was also opposed to it; but they will restore that line never. In regard to the affairs of Kansas, I must say that a state of things exists there that is disgraceful to us as a civil tized and enlightened people. A civil war is

border slave State, Maryland has suffered more largely from the aggressions of Abolitionists than any of her Southern sisters; but these grievances, serious as they are, would be aggravated tenfold by a dissolution of the Union. The respect which a large majority of the people of the North now have for the Compromises FREMONT AT THE SOUTH. Letters revealing the existence of a Fremor party at the South are becoming numerous in the Northern papers. Verbal intelligence to the same effect is furnished by Southern gentlemen travelling North. Here is a case of the latter kind mentioned by the Cincinnati Comncorporated into the Federal compact, restrain them at this time from countenancing any active interference with that species of property in the Southern States, the secure possession of which is guarantied by the Fugitive Slave Law, and reaffirmed still more firmly by the Compromises of 1850; but let the Constitution be once abrogated, and who shall say to what lengths many of those men would go, who now "An intelligent gentleman from Mississippi lengths many of those men would go, who now consider themselves bound by the obligations

it imposes? LETTER FROM SENATOR CLAYTON.

now taken such a direction, and the divisions and distractions in our country have become so alarming, that I no longer feel myself at liberty to follow the dictates of sects or factions. I will, at a moment's notice, help any set of men that stand by the country, and oppose any that refuse to do so. During the small remainder of the days which I have to devote to the public service. I will live, hoping nothing perpublic service, I will live, hoping nothing per-sonally from the smiles, and fearing nothing from the frowns, of parties or party men, be-cause I believe I can thus best serve the interests of the country. I forbear to comment now upon the causes which led to the destrucnow upon the causes which led to the destruction of the great national party to which I adhered with unfaltering fidelity while it existed. I watched over its cradle, and I have followed its hearse. It did not fall by my hand, and I have deeply mourned at its funeral. Let me add, that I have been so long in the public councils, that I see no necessity of pinning my faith and pledging my future course upon the policy to be adopted by any of the distinguished gentlemen who are Presidential candidates, for each of whom I trust I feel and desire to express all proper respect. I shall be a canfor each of whom I trust I feel and desire to express all proper respect. I shall be a candidate for no public honors or favors that any of them can bestow. If the position I have thus assumed be deemed by any one liable to objection, as novel or unprecedented, I have now only to add, in defence of it, that the condition of the country is at this time of the same character, and, as I humbly think, requires it at my hands. To the kind friends whose parservice in the councils of the nation, it will

to the feelings produced on reading the preamble to that act, better than by reading a paragraph from a speech delivered by Mr. Webster, in Octo-ber, 1844, in which he discussed the policy of admitting Texas into the Union, and eloquently this time, and at all times—NOW AND FOREVER.

"In 1780, the Legislature of Pennsylvania passed to act abolishing Slavery in this State. It was introduced by a grateful acknowledgment to God, for the achievement of American Liberty—for that assistance by which the people had been enabled to break the chains of foreign Power, and by the enjoyment and assumption a duty conformable to that, to do all they could to break it other chains, and set the world free. hardly be necessary for me to say that I can never prove an apostate to our ancient princi-ples and professions, and that I shall still enter-tain for them the same sentiments of personal regard and gratitude which have never failed to actuate me, and which I trust I have always ail other chains, and set the world free.

"That preamble was the work of your fathers! the sleep in honored graves; there is not, I believe, one milving now who was engaged in that most righteous a There are words in that preamble fit to be read by all winherit the blood—by all who bear the name—by all we cherish the memory of an honored and virtuous ancest And I ask every one of you now present, ere eight-an forty hours pass over your heads, to turn to that actread that preamble; and if you are Pennsylvanians, though the summer of the summe manifested towards them, when I had an oppor-tunity of doing so. There is a great difference in our relative positions at this period. While they are at periect liberty to take such course in the Presidential struggle as to their better judgment may seem proper, they will, with all their ancient charity for me, readily appreciate the reluctance, nay, the loathing, with which, at my time of life and in the present aspect of our national affairs, I should respear in the Senate next winter, recking from a political struggle violent as that by which our country is

For Fremont - - - - - 15

The following is a list of Senators, whose terms will expire March 4th, 1857:

Foot, Vermont, (Fremont,) to be succeeded

Sumner, Massachusetts, (Fremont,) to be suc

Sumner, Massachusetts, (Fremun,) to be succeeded by a Fremonter.

James, Rhode Island, (Buchanan,) to be succeeded by a Fremonter.

Toucey, Connecticut, (Buchanan,) to be succeeded by Dixon, a Fremonter.

Fish, New York, (Fremont,) to be succeede

Thompson, New Jersey, (Buchanan,) to

Brodhead, Penusylvania, (Buchatan,) to

acceeded by a Fremonter.

Bayard, Delaware, (Buchanan,) to be succeeded.

Pratt, Maryland, (Buchanan,) to be succeeded.

Mason, Virginia, (Buchanan,) reelected.
Adams, Mississippi, (Fillmore,) to be succeeded by Jefferson Davis, (Buchanan.)
Jones, Tennessee, (Buchanan,) tobe succeed.

Wade, Ohio, (Fremont,) re-elected.

Cass, Michigan, (Buchanan,) to be succee

Bright, Indiana, (Buchanan,) to b succeeder

by a Fremonter.
Geyer, Missouri, (Buchanan,) to be succeeded by Thomas H. Benton.
Mallory, Florida, (Buchanan,) to be succeeded by Maxwell, (Buchanan.)

Rusk, Texas, (Buchanan,) to be succeeded

Dodge, Wisconsin, (Buchanan,) to be suc-

Weller, California, (Buchanan,) to be suc-

There are at present three vacaucies in the

Hamlin, Maine, (Fremont,) to be succ

v a Fremonter.

by a Fremonter.

succeeded by a Fremonter.

by a Buchanan man.

seeded by a Fremonter.

I will now give the preamble to which Webster so eloquently alluded:

House of Representatives, August 6, 1856.

On a former occasion, in this House, I showed,

was not their intention or purpose to permit avery to spread over the Territories of the coun-

try. I will not, on this occasion, do more than

say that, in permitting Slavery to spread beyond the limits to which it was confined by the fathers

of the Republic, we have widely departed from

In my own State, (Pennsylvania,) the noble band of patriots who then controlled its desti-

nies were not content with giving expression

ishing slavery in 1780. I cannot give express

reference to the speeches and to the acts of e patriots who founded this Government, that

case: In justice, therefore, to persons so unhappily cumstanced, and who have no prospect before the whereon they may rest their sorrows and their hopes have no reasonable inducement to render their service to society, which they otherwise might; and, also, i grateful commemoration of our own happy deliverance from that state of unconditional submission, to which we were doomed by the tyranny of Britain: Therefore, But a state of the state of the state of Britain in the state of the state of the state of Britain in the state of the

Then follows the act which gradually eman vania—a noble deed, worthy the noble patriots who performed it, and worthy to be had in everlasting remembrance by every true son of that philanthropic and patriotic State, founded by A recurrence to the great deeds of our fathe

increases our veneration for them, and should incite us to emulate their example. Is there a lings of a patriotic pride, when he calls to re-membrance the noble example set us by Frank-lin and his coadjutors? Is there one son of that great free State who does not rejoice that there great free State who does not rejoice that there is not the footprint of a slave upon its soil? If, then, the contemplation of the act which bid the bondmen go free, and prohibited Slavery forever within its borders, affords such unalloyed pleasure, can it be possible that any of her sons will lend their influence to establish such an institution in the plains of Kansas? Alas! alas for our degeneracy. I cannot say that there are none such. The teachings and example of the patriots of the Revolution long continued to influence and control the action of the people our State. In 1818, 1819, and 1820, we find the our State. In 1818, 1819, and 1820, we find the same patriotic devotion to the pure and philanthropic principles of our fathers; and the State, through her Legislature, protested, in the most solemn manner, against the admission of Missouri with a Constitution tolerating Slavery. She instructed her Senators and requested her Representatives in Congress to resist the admission of Missouri. They did so with a persistence and fidelity never surpassed by any body of public servants. They never faltered in their duty; and we find that twenty-one out of the twenty-three members of Congress then representing Pennsylvania in this Hall, utterly refused admission to Missouri with her slave Constitution. Surrounded as they believed the Union to Senatorial representation of Indiana California, and Missouri, which, if filled, will add one to the Fillmore and two to the Fremost Senators. Thus, the Senate may be expected to stand, at the beginning of the Thirty fifth Congress, as

DOUGLAS DENOUNCED AS A TRAITOR AT THE SOUTH.

From the Charleston Mercury, Sept. 11.

What have we seen? The Territorial Legis lattree of Kansas pass laws, admitting and protecting Slavery, and, therefore, obnoxious to Abolitionism. And what is the course of Slavery and the properties and the properties of the supplement of the Souther of the Souther of Sassas and other Democratic leaders in Congress? Six years ago, when, under the same of the Souther and of the south of the two Senators, who, on that trying occasion, the two Senators, who, the two Senators, who, on that trying occasion, refused to bow the knee to the black Baal of America. Dissolution was then threatened, as it is now threatened, and by men from the same section, with this difference: we had no "weeping Jeremiahs" in our State then, prophesying, in dolorous notes, the ruin of the country, as we have now. The people then stood firm, and sustained their representatives in resisting the demands of Slavery. But they found a few Northern men with softened vertebræ who yielded, and the Compromise was passed, and Missouri was admitted with her slave Constitution; and the North, for its share, was permitted to re-hibited Slavery from entering the fair fields of the North, for its share, was permitted to retain a wilderness for thirty-four years, until the South wanted it, and then they took that too.

A gentleman who was a member of Congres has for some days past been in this city, who is a warm Fremonter, manifesting an interest in the election that would warm the bosoms writing to a newspaper in his district, gives and stiffen the upper lips of some of the faint-hearted of the North. He says that the men of the South who favor Fremont are numerous, but that they dare not make an organized movement, to give force to their actions and time time, (the venerable Dr. Darlington,) writing to a newspaper in his district, gives a graphic description of the scene presented on the final passage of the Missouri Compromise. I will give a few extracts:

"The vaulted dome re-echoed with threats of blood and

and stiffen the upper lips of some of the fanth entered of the North. He says that the men of the Editors of the National Intelligencer:

Gentlement I have felt much reluctance in addressing the public by a letter in regard to the party politics of the day. I desired not to the party politics of the day. I desired not to the party politics of the expectation of influencing those of them. But these opinions have been made the suspected of parading my own opinions, with the expectation of influencing those of them. But these opinions have been made the subject of conjecture and doubt in a portion of the public press, and simple justice to myself requires that the course I have determined to pursue in regard to Presidential cannot intelligencer of the public press, and simple justice to myself requires that the course I have determined to pursue in regard to Presidential cannot intelligence and the subject of conjecture and doubt in a portion of the public press, and simple justice to myself requires that the course I have determined to pursue in regard to Presidential cannot intelligence and the subject of conjecture and doubt in a portion of the public press, and simple justice to myself requires that the course I have determined to pursue in regard to Presidential cannot intelligence and the party possible to the course I have determined to pursue in regard to Presidential cannot intelligence and the party pursue that the product of the party pursue that the product of the party pursue that the product of the party pursue the product of the party pursue that the product of the party pursue that the product of the party pursue that the pursue that the product of the party pursue that the pursue that the product of the party pursue that the pursue that the product of the party pursue that the party pursue that the product of the party pursue that the product of the party pursue that the product of the pa

The writer of the above adds, in a note, the

"Of the twenty-three Representatives of Pennsylvania, at that day, the following named twenty-one resisted the extension of Slavery into Missouri and all free territory, on any pretext or compromise whatever:

"Messrs. Boden. Darlington, Dennison, Edwards, Porrest, Gross, Hemphill, Hibshman, Heister, Hostetter, Maclay, Marchand, R. Moore, S. Moore, Murray, Patterson, Philson, Rogers, Sergeant, and Tarr."

The patriotic writer of those extracts has survived that Compromise which was to live forever. What anguish his noble heart must have felt, when he learned of the consummation of that unparalleled perfidy by which that Compromise philasthropic sentiments, but they gave more substantial evidence of their philanthopy by abol-since the repeal:

"Every intelligent person is now aware that the noisy vaporings of the Slave Power down South is all sham, intended merely to scare the service remnants of obsolete parties and squabbling factions in the North. The Slave Power is a unit, and tolerates no dissenting factions in its own dominions; but it encourages feads and divisions elsewhere, the better to manage them. Yet, while the cunning oligarchy thus threatens, it knows full well—none can know it better—that the peculiar institution would not be safe one hour under the influences resulting from a dissolution of the Union. Why should it, so long as it can wiceld at pleasure the physical energies of the free States?"

On the 5th of April, 1820, the writer made this

Why should Pennsylvanians be expected to repudiate the noble principles and exalted virtues of their fathers? Their deeds and virtues have embalmed their memories in the recollection of the patriotic and virtuous, and will hand down their names, associated with the good and great who have lived upon earth, to the latest posterity. Do those who appeal to us to vote for Mr. Bu-chanan claim that he will subserve any special or peculiar interest of Pennsylvania? No. e Democracy, there is but one question now before the country. Tariffs, internal improvement systems, distribution of public lands, banks—all, all have dwindled into insignificance before the greater question, whether Slavery shall be spread over the plains of Kansas, and thereby a new market be opened to the domestic slave trade. Governor Wise, of Virginia, in a recent speech, urged the peculiar claims of Mr. Buchanan upon the South, and declared, that if Mr. Buchanan's Mexico had been adopted, slaves would have in-creased three hundred per cent. in value. Has

not the free labor of Pennsylvania already sufficiently the crushing influence of fifteen hundred millions of dollars invested in slave property, that she should lend her influence to a value, and consequently to the power of an interest which already overshadows all others in the country, and which has always waged a bitter warfare against Pennsylvania interests?

Mr. Chairman, it will not do to tell me that Mr. Buchanan will not observe the conditions upon

which he was nominated. He has sworn fealty to the Cincinnati platform: and if he is an hon est and honorable man, he cannot do otherwise than fulfil the conditions upon which he was nominated.

We are appealed to in Pennsylvania to vote for James Buchanan, because he is a Pennsylvanian to the "manner born," and our State pride is appealed to. It will not do, gentlemen; the people of my State have some State pride, but will not be induced to vote for a man whose ambition leads him to forget what is due to his own State and his country. He has no claims upon any but those who approve of that wicked policy which has caused the murders, arsons, and rob-beries, in Kansas. He is bound to complete what Pierce began, and has no claims upon any ma

who could not support Pierce or Douglas.

With these facts before us, we are invited—nay, urged—to vote for Mr. Buchanan, because, foroth, he is a Pennsylvanian. I am fully aware that Mr. Buchanan was nomi nated because it was supposed that he could carry Pennsylvania, and thereby save the party from that overwhelming defeat which it so richly merits at the hands of a betrayed and outraged

people. But I would ask those who urge us to vote for him because he is a Pennsylvanian, how they can expect us to do so, when he is pledged to pursue a policy—an infamous policy—that is not of Pennsylvania, but of Douglas and Atchison. He has doffed his individuality, and no longer thinks or acts for himself. He is hereater to be the exponent of the Cincinnati platform, and it is the exponent of the views and policy of Douglas and Atchison. The hemp placed about the necks of Governor Reeder and William Y Roberts, would scarcely set the easier because i was nicely adjusted by a marshal appointed by their old Democratic friend and leader, James Buchanan, who, as President, was carrying out the Douglas policy, by "subduing" and hanging

them for treason.

It will be recollected that a few years since, when we were about to acquire territory from Mexico, to "indemnify us for the war" com-menced by Mr. Polk, Pennsylvania, through her State Legislature, instructed her Senators and requested her Representatives to vote for the adoption of the "Wilmot Proviso," and to exclude Slavery from all territories which might be acquired. I had the honor to have a seat in the Legislature in 1847, when those resolutions were passed, and I believe that there were but three dissenting votes in the Senate and House. Those resolutions were supported by Governor Bigler, now United States Senator, John C. Knox, now one of the judges of the supreme court, and by other Democrats of less distinction. How can Pennsylvania, with this record, support this new dogma, which, if sustained in the election of Mr. hanan, will tarnish her fair escutcheon, and sadly mar the beauty of her historical record? It is not necessary for me to pursue this subject further than to say that Pennsylvania has clung to the policy of her patriotic leaders of revolu-

tionary times.

Ever since the perpetration of that great crime against the nation's peace—the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska bill—the country, throughou its length and breadth, has been convulsed with excitement pernicious to its prosperity and happiness. It should be the object of every patriot to do what he can to restore quiet, and that is only to be done by removing the cause. A skill-ful physician will first ascertain the cause of the excitement, or the disease, and then will apply suitable remedies for its removal. He will, if possible, probe to the seat of the disease, and reized and enlightened people. A civil war is raging in that Territory, that nothing can excuse this Administration for not arresting. I care not for the detraction and misrepresentation and misrepresentation. There were three deaths by yellow fever respond to the detraction and misrepresentation. There is not a man, wo-for an assault upon the Capitol? Will Col. Brooks marshal his cohorts for an assault upon the Capitol? Will the leaders of the Government, not to plausibly resist the disease, and replausibly resist the disease, and replausibly resist the ultra-Slavery policy of the move the cause of irritation. So with the body politic; when diseased or unnaturally excited, we can move the cause of irritation. So with the body politic; when diseased or unnaturally excited, we cause of irritation. So with the body politic; when diseased or unnaturally excited, we cause of irritation. So with the body politic; when diseased or unnaturally excited, we cause of irritation, there is reason to believe that under the cause of irritation. So with the body politic; when diseased or unnaturally excited, we cause of irritation. So with the body politic; when diseased or unnaturally excited, we cause of irritation. So with the body politic; when diseased or unnaturally excited, we cause of irritation. So with the body politic; when diseased or unnaturally excited, we cause of irritation. So with the leaders of the Government, not to plausibly resist the ultra-Slavery policy of the cause of irritation. So with the body politic; when diseased or unnaturally excited, we cause of irritation. So with the body politic; when diseased or unnaturally excited, we cause of irritation. So with the body politic; when diseased or unnaturally excited, we cause of irritation. So with the leaders of the Government, not to disease or unnaturally excited, we cause of irritation. The cause of irritation and institution admitted to be a great evil. I would not be cause of irritation. The cause of irritation and institution admitted to be a great

hibited Slavery from entering the fair fields of Kansas. The wicked pretence set up, that it was not to legislate Slavery into Kansas, or to legislate it out, and that the people should be left "perfectly free" to adopt their own institutions, bore the impress of falsehood upon every line of the act.

But the effects, the fruits of that bill-what are

hey? Look at the report of your committee sen

to Kansas to investigate the election frauds. What a revelation is there for my countrymen!—what parallel to the atrocities committed there cannot be found in the history of any civilized country, ince the "northern hive" broke loose upon and overran the Roman Empire. Crimes of every grade are committed against those who were ared from the free States by the deceptive lure, that they were to be left "perfectly free to es-tablish their own domestic institutions." And he criminals run at large! Men from the free States are hunted like wild partridges upon the heath, and are driven out; while, on the other and, Southern emigrants-armed emigrantsare welcomed into the Territory; and, upo arrival, are mustered into the service of the United States, under Marshal Donaldson, and paid out of the money of the people. Call you this equality, gentlemen? Major Buford marched over four hundred men from South Carolina and Alabama; and as soon as they reach Kansas, they become a part of the United States Marshal's posse, and are placed upon the pay-roll. They may commit what acts of violence they will, and there is no remedy. The United States troops can drive out bodies of Free State men, and can prevent others from entering the Terriand can prevent others from entering the Terri tory, but have no power over Marshal Donald son's or Sheriff Jones's posses. Every intelligent man must see that the Kansas bill invited this very state of things. It was a deceptive invitation to the North and the South to send emi-grants into the Territory, and the strongest should be the winner of the prize. All Westera Mis-souri, with Atchison, Stringfellow, and their army of Border Ruffians, stood ready to overpower the Free State actual settlers; and they did do it nore than once, as is shown by the report of the

Pennsylvanians, lured by the devices and holow professions of that bill of fraud, emigrated n considerable numbers—some from my district, but more from my colleague's, [General Dick's;] others from Ohio. Some of these, Barber, Brown and others, have been welcomed to inhospitable graves by the bloody hands of Border Ruffians. ome are in prison under arrest for treason, be cause they in their simplicity believed that the Kansas bill meant what it said; that is, that they should be left perfectly free to adopt their own domestic institutions; and set about doing so at Topeka, and formed a Free State Constitution. For this, G. W. Smith, Esq., a lawyer of long experience, ability, and respectable standing, from Butler, the residence of my colleague, [Mr. Punvi-ANCE,] is now in the "chain-gang," under the guard of the United States troops. Another Pennsylvanian, W. Y. Roberts, Esq., with whom I had e pleasure of serving in our State Legislature, and who was then one of the leading Democrats in that body, has been driven out of the Territory upon a charge of treason, for having taken part in forming the Topeka Constitution.

Suppose that, through the wickedness, verseness, or weakness of a pilot, he should use a chart by which he had steered a noble vessel nto the most perilous position, among rocks and breakers, and that a storm having arisen, the ves-"I venture to predict that the settled policy of the slave-noiding States will be, to prevent the admission of any new non-slaveholding State into the Union, unless a and there was but one channel by which the vessel sea, and that the pilot and crew obstinately re-fused to tack, and declared that they would steer by the false chart, if the consequence should be the loss of the vessel, what would you think of the proposition to throw the pilot overboard, re-tain the crew, and employ a new pilot, upon con-dition that he must pledge himse f to use the same compass and the same chart, and that he must navigate the vessel in all particulars as the

old pilot did? What would you think of the wisdom of such a proposition? Would it not be wicked to so expose the ship and the lives of passengers? Yet that is precisely what you have done in throwing overboard Mr. Pierce, and in insisting that the proposed new pilot, Mr. Buchanan, shall not return to the point of departure, 36° 30', but must continue to steer by the Douglas and Stringfellow chart, if the consequence should be the oss of the ship, with all on board. If the Democratic party were alone the passengers, we might not complain at the wickedness of their

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